

THE NEW ABOLITIONIST

“Abolish the White Race — By Any Means Necessary”

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EIGHT QUESTIONS FOR THE FREE MUMIA MOVEMENT

by Chris Niles, Co-Editor

Over the last several years, abolitionists, like many other political agitators, have called for and continue to call for Mumia-Abu Jamal's freedom. However, abolitionists are troubled by what seems to be a general failure on the part of the Free Mumia Movement to develop a critical inquiry about the legal system against which it is struggling. Some people have raised the following questions in meetings only to be ignored or shushed. Less bold types have brought them up only after the meeting, usually away from the meeting room, in somewhat muted tones. Whatever the matter, we think they are important questions that deserve serious

thought. We are not posing them because we think the answers are easy or that the strategies that may proceed from the answers are contradiction-free. We do believe, however, that avoiding these questions ultimately does a serious disservice to the effort to free Mumia in particular and the fight for human dignity and freedom in general.

1. What would happen to the Free Mumia Movement if evidence suddenly turned up that proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that Mumia is guilty of killing police officer Daniel Faulkner? Would the Free Mumia Move-



ment abandon its call for a new trial? Would it abandon Mumia?

2. Why has Mumia become such a cause célèbre while other political prisoners are serving time in relative obscurity?

3. Why do we have a “Free Mumia!” movement instead of an “abolish the prison system!” movement?

4. Is it possible to be consistently anti-white while supporting or being equivocal about the prison system?

5. Is it possible to be consistently anti-racist while supporting or being equivocal about the prison system?

6. How can serious political agitators be protected from the police and incarceration?

7. Is the Free Mumia Movement reproducing, on any level, whiteness?

8. Why is no one calling for the abolition of the legal system—not just the laws—that work hand in hand with the prison system?

ZERO TOLERANCE

by Lara Johnson, Oakland

Lately, the Oakland Police Department (OPD) has been making a lot of noise about its new “zero tolerance” crime policy. “Zero tolerance” sounds inclusive. However, in reality, it is yet another Orwellian code word for policies designed to reinforce institutionalized whiteness by intensifying the repression of people of color and the poor.

Perhaps I can prove my point by way of two examples:

One

On Sunday morning of June 21, 1998,

I was casually sitting outside Barnes and Noble in Jack London Square, smoking a cigarette (I quit not long after) waiting to meet a friend. A few feet away from me sat a small, polite, African American gentleman (I later found out his name is George Jenkins) also having a cigarette. He nodded and smiled, as if to share our status as “locked-out-smokers” while watching the morning shoppers.

An Oakland police car rolled ominously to a stop right in front of me. Two white uniformed officers got out and walked right up to George and demanded identification. Their demeanor was so

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PLANS FOR JOHN BROWN DAY

North Elba (Lake Placid), New York, May 1.

Assemble at 2:00 PM at the White Church (now called Trinity Chapel) where John Brown used to preach, located on Old Military Road adjacent to the North Elba Cemetery. We will walk together to the Brown family gravesite and farm. After a ceremony at the gravesite, we will regather at the Church for a meal. In the evening there will be a dance at Cascade Acres, a ski area a couple of miles from the gravesite towards Keene. Maps and directions will be provided. Call (781) 255-5964.

Osawatimie, Kansas, May 8 (tentative).

The New Abolitionist Society and the Kansas Historical Society invite everyone to John Brown Day 1999. Events will begin at 1:00 PM at the Adair cabin in John Brown State Park, and will feature historic portrayals, tours of the site where Brown killed the proslavers, and a remembrance at the gravesite/memorial for the abolitionists who fell at the Battle of Osawatimie. Call (918) 599-7306.



Altadena, California, May 2.

Assemble at a designated spot near the Los Angeles National Forest and march to Owen Brown's gravesite in Altadena. Hymns, prayers, songs at the gravesite, plus talks on Owen Brown's connection to the community of Altadena and the significance of John Brown for today. Following the ceremony there will be food, music, dancing. Call (310) 712-3936 or email nas_westside@hotmail.com

Seattle

People in Seattle are also planning an event to commemorate John Brown Day. For information, call (206) 622-0195 or email leftbank@leftbankbooks.com.

John Brown Day '99 will be a day of ritual, reflection, remembrance, and renewal. It is endorsed by: Russell Banks, Derrick Bell, John Bracey, Robin

D.G. Kelley, Martin Espada, Herbert Hill, Barbara Kingsolver, Toni Morrison, Theresa Perry, Ishmael Reed, David Roediger, Sapphire, Pete Seeger, Dorothy Sterling, Cornel West, Howard Zinn, and the editors of Race Traitor.

John Brown Day
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- Abolition and the White Studies Racket
- Resisting Arrest
- Hunting Whiteness
- letters, poetry, and more

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Check out our website:
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For areas not listed here, please call or write the Boston or D.C. addresses.

Treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity.

THE WHITE 'HOOD WITHOUT WHITE HOODS

by Joel Olson, Phoenix

I.

It was America in the 1940s and Guillermo and Rosa were in love. Their plan was to marry and raise a family in Phoenix, Rosa's home since birth. There was just one problem. You see, Rosa was Mexican and Guillermo was from the Philippines and according to the laws of the great state of Arizona, a Mexican and a Filipino couldn't marry because that would be "race-mixing." So they got married in New Mexico and drove back to Phoenix to begin a new life together.

How Neighborhoods Stay White in the Y2K

The couple bought a modest home on Madison and 25th Street. But at the time Mexicans and Asians weren't supposed to live in that neighborhood. Their neighbors protested the idea of brown-skinned people of a "mixed-race" marriage living in their neighborhood. It would drive down property values. It would disturb the peace. And if Guillermo and Rosa had children, they might play with their kids and corrupt them.

Well, the good citizens of this neighborhood would have none of that. They wrote letters demanding that Guillermo and Rosa move out. They insulted them or shunned them completely. They considered buying them out. The neighbors did everything they could to kick Guillermo and Rosa out of their home and to send them "back where they belong," or at least to south Phoenix.

II.

Now fast forward to 1999. Two men,

Kevin and Marvin, came to Phoenix with the dream of opening up a nightclub. They bought a run-down bar on McDowell and 16th Street, fixed it up, and renamed it the House of Grooves. The club is one of the few places in the Valley where Black and Chicano youth can meet and party and dance.

But like the story of Guillermo and Rosa, trouble began as soon as Kevin and Marvin opened the doors of their club. The neighbors were very upset. They didn't like the noise. They didn't like the litter. And they especially didn't like Black and Brown people wearing baggy clothes and driving lowriders in their neighborhood. The club would drive down property values! It would disturb the peace! And when their kids grow up, they might even want to dance there!

So just like Guillermo and Rosa's neighbors, the goods citizens of The Greater Coronado Neighborhood Association took action. They wrote the mayor. They met with the city council. They faxed the state legislature. They set up a web site. They looked high and low for any excuse or legal technicality they could use to shut down Kevin and Marvin's club.

III.

These stories are different in two ways. First, Guillermo and Rosa's neighbors were openly anti-Mexican and anti-Asian. They were proud to do what they had to do to keep their neighborhood white. But Kevin and Marvin's neighbors strongly deny they are prejudiced. "We're not racists!" they cry to anyone who will listen. "We even have Black supporters. We just want peace and quiet."

Second, Guillermo and Rosa's story has a happy ending. They resisted their neighbor's attacks and stayed in their little home and raised their children. But it looks like Kevin and Marvin's story won't end so

happy. The Phoenix Board of Adjustment told the House of Grooves in February that they couldn't use a large portion of their club because of a zoning violation (they moved an inside wall without asking the city). As a result the club will probably have to move, which is exactly what their neighbors want.

What the openly whitist neighbors of Guillermo and Rosa couldn't do, the "non-



The House of Grooves.

Photo: Doug Hoeschler, New Times

racist" neighbors of Kevin and Marvin could. This, friends, is how white privilege works today: no one admits to being racist, yet the same activities that took place in the bad old days, such as running people of color out of the neighborhood, continue. The only difference between then and now is the absence of blatant whitist rhetoric. But the results are the same. All of this is another reason why we must abolish the white race and its evil tool, the neighborhood association.

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ZERO TOLERANCE

Continued from page 1

threatening and George's so gentle, I immediately went to ask the officers what the problem was. I was abruptly and rudely told that it was "none of your business" and to move at least ten feet away.

Repeating my request for information I was informed by Officer Clarence W. Mabanag (badge number 7638P) that he was arresting George for "littering." I laughed and said "where?" He bent down and pointed to ash that had fallen from George's cigarette, whereupon he seemed to assume that I should be content with his reply, and got visibly angry and irritated when I was not.

While the officers continued to attempt to interrogate George, asking and searching him for identification and verification of where he lived (in order to write out a docket for littering), I attempted to stop passers-by, informing them of what was happening. Most did not care, and made every effort to avoid any eye-contact with me. One gentleman stopped, said it was "awful" and gave me a pen and a piece of paper to write down the officers' numbers.

By this time they had handcuffed George and were dragging him away. I had enough time to ask George what his name was and to yell that I would file a complaint and do what I could. Asking the officers if they had any conscience did not elicit any response.

I drove down to the Oakland Police Department and asked two African-American officers sitting outside what to do. They said that as far as they were concerned it was simple "discrimination" and "happens all the time" and to file a complaint with the "Professional Standards Division."

The next day I filed a complaint to Sgt. Paniagua at the Professional Standards Division (PSD), who said that the complaint could only be logged into the daily entry log and unless George made a complaint, the matter would not be taken fur-

ther. I wrote a letter to Mayor Harris, Mayor-Elect Jerry Brown, called every newspaper and TV station in the Bay area and emailed every newspaper I could find on the internet, including many internet chat groups and email discussion lists.

The *Miami Herald* (in Miami, Florida) investigated and were told that George had "dropped a match." They wrote an editorial on July 4: "Police Action Harms Image as Protectors." KPFA Radio News called the police department and were told that George had "probably failed the 'attitude test.'" Mayor Harris forwarded my letter to Mr. Nisperos, the Manager of the Citizen's Police Review Board.

Mr. Nisperos wrote me an email stating, among other things, that I could only file a complaint with the Citizen's Police Review Board (CPRB) after it had been investigated by the Oakland Police Department (OPD) resulting in an unsatisfactory result to the complainant; or if the OPD had not completed the investigation after 90 days; and that in his opinion "[he does] not see a claim of explicit bias against any of the constitutionally protected classes (age, race, sex, etc.)."

Five months have passed since this incident and I am told by the Professional Standards Division that the investigation is "almost complete." The only thing left is for the Chief of Police to "sign off" on it. However, Sgt. Wood was concerned when he heard that the investigation was "complete" but the "prime witness" had yet to be questioned. Sounds like a "serious" investigation to me; why not get Donald Duck to conduct it?

Two

On 17 December 1998, I attended an anti-Iraq-war rally outside the Federal Building in downtown Oakland, where one group of approximately 25 European-Americans, including me (a European

South African) proceeded to dump a coffin and three large trash bags of dirt and rubble (probably about the size of 30 cartons of cigarettes and ash) onto the pristine marble floor of the rotunda entrance to the Federal Building, with a couple of policemen viewing our protest.

We did not stop there, but proceeded to lay down on the floor in front of the two security entrances, refusing to move for the next two hours, thereby effectively closing down the Federal Building for two hours, while Oakland Police watched and debated with Federal Marshals as to when and how to arrest us, if ever.

We were finally arrested with the cordiality and respect accorded to so-called whites when they are arrested: "Your name please, Sir/Madam," "Please spread your arms," etc.

What part of "zero tolerance" maintains that people with white skins may be arrested and treated as humans while others who do not meet the color/class requirements are treated with disdain and derision?

One can begin to understand how this system works when one understands the rules of membership in the white club. As Noel Ignatiev of the New Abolitionists says, "The white race is a club. Certain people are enrolled in it at birth, without their consent, and brought up according to its rules. For the most part they go through life accepting the privileges of membership, without reflecting on the costs."

With membership in the white club comes many privileges. They include receiving more respectful treatment from the police, enrollment in better schools, less difficulty securing a loan for a car or home, catching a cab with ease, finding a job, access to better food, residence in less polluted neighborhoods, etc.

The only difference between "zero tolerance" and "apartheid" is their rating on



Graphic: E. S. S. # % & @!

the whiteness oppression index, and the reason that both are sustained is because many whites who do not approve of these policies do not publicly and privately, day in and day out, oppose them for fear of losing their white privileges. As soon as enough whites are prepared to attack the system of privilege—that is, as soon as enough whites are willing to commit racial suicide—then there will be no reason to maintain it.

For me, the “race issue” is no longer a matter of shades of gray but of black and white. I am no longer prepared to subscribe to the white club, spouting confused “anti-racism” rhetoric while still partaking of white privilege. I will no longer stand by and collaborate or “look away” while policemen, mayors, bosses, friends and family enjoy their subscriptions to the club. I shall be a race traitor, following the mantra of “Treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity.”

COPS BEAT WRONG MAN

Four years ago white Boston cops beat up a fellow officer and left him unconscious on a freezing street. The victim, Michael Cox, who is black, was in plain clothes. He had responded to a call that a police officer had been shot. As he was climbing a fence in pursuit of a suspect, one of the white cops who arrived on the scene after him hit him from behind with a flashlight. After he was on the ground, several others beat him. When they realized he was a cop, they fled the scene, leaving him without medical attention. Cox spent several weeks in the hospital with internal injuries, and suffered permanent damage from the beating.

One of the white cops has been sentenced to 34 months in prison for lying to a federal grand jury investigating the incident, but none of the others has faced any criminal charges. The police department

took its first action last October, suspending four cops—with pay. Now, after a civil jury found three of them liable for the assault, the police department has brought internal charges against them.

While many in the city have deplored the “tragedy” of cops beating “one of their own” and criticized the police department cover-up, few outside the black community have pointed out that had Cox not been a cop the incident would probably have never have come to public attention at all, or suggested that there was anything wrong with the beating except for the choice of a victim.

Cox himself, who ever since childhood had dreamed of being a cop, has said he is broken-hearted by the behavior of his fellow officers and the attitude of the department.

—Noel Ignatiev, Boston

DRIVING WHILE BROWN

You may have heard of the phenomenon called “Driving While Black,” in which the police target Black motorists and pull them over for bogus reasons in order to search their cars and run background checks.

However, you might not know about the equally whitist “Driving While Brown” phenomenon. This is the practice of immigration officers who illegally pull over individuals who “look Mexican” to see if they’re an illegal alien. In one case, a person was interrogated and his car dismantled in Las Cruces, New Mexico by the Border Patrol because he was traveling from Los Angeles to Tucson to Albuquerque, which Patrol officials said constituted a “suspicious route.”

When the driver complained to the Border Patrol in a letter, the BP responded by reaffirming that the path constitutes a “nondirect route.” (The letter also warned the driver “not to laugh in [BP officers’] presence.”) According to the BP, apparently, whites can drive around the nation in straight lines, zig zags, or loop-de-loops,

but those with brown skin have to avoid any “nondirect routes.”

In another case, Border Patrol agent Armando Ayala (who has 19 years on the force) was recently stopped while he was off-duty by a fellow officer near Animas, New Mexico. The fellow officer said Ayala was speeding and proceeded to ask Ayala his citizenship and search his trunk. BP agents are not authorized to make “traffic” stops. Ayala has filed a complaint over the incident.

Many of these interrogations take place on the nation’s roads near the border, but they also happen in many cities in the Southwest, some of which are hundreds of miles from the border. In the summer of 1997 Immigration and Naturalization Services officials, working with the police department of the suburb of Chandler, Arizona, conducted a massive five-day sweep of the downtown area. In the process of arresting 432 people, many people who “looked Mexican” were hassled as they played soccer, pumped gas, or sat on their front porch while white residents standing



next to them were unmolested. The city of Chandler recently settled one lawsuit brought by victims of the sweep for \$400,000 and still faces another. While not apologizing for the police’s actions, they agreed to implement “diversity training” for its employees.

Diversity training won’t end the systematic harassment of Black and Brown people by the police. Only abolishing the white race that the police serve and protect can do that. But this raises another question: if we abolish the white race, what use will we have for police?

—*Information: Ruckus and Patrisia Gonzales and Roberto Rodriguez (Column of the Americas, Universal Press Syndicate, XColumn@aol.com).*

Letters

Editor’s note: The following letters were sent to the Race Traitor web site at www.postfun.com/racetrailor.

With 28 years of being white under my belt, I have yet to reap any of the benefits that (apparently) are mine for the taking in our “white society.” I grew up around blacks and Mexicans almost exclusively, so I’ve never had the option of judging anyone by their ethnic origin, nor have I had the option of going to Harvard, or “starting a group about racism.” What a fucking asinine concept. If you hate yourself for being white, then kill yourself, but I’m in the process of dying right now just like everybody else on this planet is, and the ride might be a lot smoother for all of us if NO ONE was hung up on dumbass tribal conflicts that are not applicable to the business

of living in the 20th, let alone 21st, century. That includes the KKK, Farrakhan, and YOU.

Dave Houser, Las Vegas, NV

Dave,

Thanks for writing. From your letter I get the idea that if we ever had a chance to sit down and talk we could probably agree on a lot. We don’t hate ourselves or anyone else for their color. We hate a system that grants privileges based on color. You say you have never received any of those privileges. If so, that would make you unique. Are you sure your color never did anything for you—a better school, a safer neighborhood, the inside track on a job, a break from a cop? If not, then maybe you’re not white, you just look white. For us, white is not

something people are, it is something they do, and those who resist or have no part in the system of white-skin privileges aren’t white. We oppose whiteness because we think it distracts people—especially so-called whites—from getting their heads together and figuring out how to solve the problems that affect us all. You say you would like to forget about color. So would we—but how can we when it is so important in the society? We figure the best way to overcome the divisive issue of race is to confront it head-on—and since most of us who started this project are nominally “white,” we started with the group we are assigned to—which also happens to be, historically, the biggest, most powerful, and most troublesome group.

NI, for Race Traitor

The Ally McBeal Episode You'll Never See...**ALLY McBEAL & THE FACTS OF LIFE**

by Beth Henson, Boston

Sunday afternoon. Ally is lolling about her Beacon Hill apartment, painting her toenails and dreaming about her boyfriend, Greg, a handsome, affable, African American doctor.

Cut to Greg, jogging along the Charles River, with Ally on his mind. He cuts over to Beacon Hill, soon finding himself on Ally's street. He looks for change in his pockets; all he's carrying is a couple of bills and his beeper, no wallet.

Cut to Ally's apartment. The phone is ringing. Ally answers, listens, and erupts in a huge grin.

Cut. Ally dashes into her bedroom, tears off her flannel pajamas, and slips on some designer jeans. The doorbell rings.

Cut. Greg and Ally embrace.

Cut. Night has fallen. They are sitting at the kitchen table, Ally is back in her pjs and Greg is wrapped up in a big towel. They are eating lo mein from paper cartons and sipping a nice Pinot Grigio. They

[I'm] a red headed blonde who, admittedly, is a bit of a servant to the privileges of her extremely pale skin. She has been told she "doesn't look white," and takes this most complementarily. However, she is surrounded by people who could not conceive of the higher meaning behind your statement "treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity" and probably because of this is hard-pressed to reject her whiteness. Considering also her locale of fairly extreme divisions it is equally difficult to search out other new abolitionists. For the record, she does not believe in race, sees it as a social construct rather than a true divisive science and would like to think of herself as a new abolitionist.

Thank you. Nikole

are giggly and cuddling and planning a vacation.

Greg: You know it seems a shame to go home now.

Ally: Why don't you stay?

Greg: Okay, I will.

Cut. The bedside clock says 4:15 am. A beeper goes off. Greg sits up and reaches for the phone. He dials.

Greg: Dr. G. here....Okay, I'll be right there. Fifteen minutes. See if you can get her to hold out that long.

Ally:?

Greg, pulling on his sweatpants and t-shirt: Teenage mother in labor, diabetic, high risk....I'll call you, baby.

Ally: I've got my cousin's car for the week, why don't you drive. Really. I won't need it.

Greg hesitates: Okay, give me the keys, but only if I can't get a cab.

Cut. Greg stands on the corner, hugging himself from the cold. He hails a cab. The driver approaches, slows down, and takes off in a hurry. Greg curses.

Cut. Greg is driving. Focus on the speedometer: 45 mph. Blue lights go on behind him. He slams his fist against the dashboard and pulls over. Focus on the dashboard clock: 4:30 am.



Cut.

First the glare of a flashlight appears in the driver's side window, and then a gun. A voice barks: License and registration.

Greg puts both hands on the steering wheel: Officer, I'm a doctor, I'm on my way to City Hospital for an emergency childbirth.

A face appears dimly behind the flashlight: You sure don't look like a doctor. Let's see some ID.

Cut. A long shot. Greg is hauled out of the car and slammed face-down on the street. One officer holds a gun to his head and the other one jams his hands into cuffs. He kicks him in the kidneys: Come along, doc, we're going for a ride.

Cut. Greg in a cell, bleeding from the mouth, still cuffed behind his back. Focus on the clock in the corridor: 6:38 a.m.

Are the mother and child all right? Does Dr. G. get out of jail? Does he lose his job? Will Ally represent him in a suit against the city? Will her lawfirm back her up? Does she put Elaine to work researching similar cases? Does she blush when Greg's whereabouts that fateful night are revealed?

Tune in next week.

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WHITENESS INDEX

- Average number of months white prisoners serve for a crime: 24 months
- Average number of months Black prisoners serve for the same crime: 26 months
 - Average number of months white prisoners serve for rape: 56 months
 - Average number of months Black prisoners serve for rape: 70 months
 - Percent of drivers on Interstate 95 who are Black: 20
 - Percent of drivers pulled over and searched on I-95 who are Black: 70
 - Number of Black men disfranchised in 1998 because of felony convictions: 1.4 million
- Total percentage of Black male voting-age population disfranchised: 13 percent

Sources: New York Times, ACLU, Journal of Blacks in Higher Education

What We Believe

The white race is a historically constructed social formation. It consists of all those who partake of the privileges of the white skin in this society. Its most wretched members share a status higher, in certain respects, than that of the most exalted persons excluded from it, in return for which they give their support to a system that degrades them.

The key to solving the social problems of our age is to abolish the white race—in other words, to abolish white supremacy. Until that task is accomplished, even partial reform will prove elusive, because white influence permeates every issue, domestic and foreign, in U.S. society.

The way to abolish the white race is to challenge, disrupt and eventually overturn the institutions and behavior patterns that reproduce the privileges of whiteness, including the schools, job and housing markets, and the criminal justice system. The abolitionists do not limit themselves to socially acceptable means of protest, but reject in advance no means of attaining their goal.

CHANDLER: ARIZONA'S SAFEST CITY—IF YOU'RE WHITE

Arizonans! Take the latch off the door and roll down the windows of your SUV! The suburb of Chandler has recently been determined the safest place to live among all Arizona cities with a population of 75,000 or greater, according to a report based on 1997 FBI crime statistics.

Chandler city officials brag that their town is safe because of their cops. "I'd like to say the Police Department did it all," said the ever-modest Police Chief Bobby Joe Harris.

But the report doesn't mention one important fact that Chief Harris will never admit: Chandler is a safe city *only if you're white*. If your skin is brown, you've got plenty to worry about in this town. And the danger doesn't come from criminals but from Harris himself.

Chandler is the town where Harris's cops, working with the Border Patrol, swept the downtown area for five days in July 1997 looking for illegal aliens. During the sweep cops harassed anyone they saw with brown skin, demanding to see birth certificates, green cards, or other proof of citizenship, while leaving every white citizen unbothered. [See "Driving While Brown, page 6.]

It's ironic, isn't it? The cops take credit for making Chandler safe while at the same time they're the ones terrorizing Chicanos and Mexicans who live and work in Chandler. If this is their idea of a "safe city," we'd rather live in an "unsafe" place any day. —Joel Olson, *Phoenix*

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